The Magazine With A Truly International Outlook

World Unity

THIS MONTH

The Geneva Conference Under Way—*Editorial*
David Starr Jordan—*Rieber*
Moral Aspects of Unemployment—*Jonson*
The World's Great Teachers—*Woodward*
This Praying World—*Kitching*

Interpreting the spirit of the new age

Orient and Occident—*Kohn*
Nationalism and Reason—*Randall*

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

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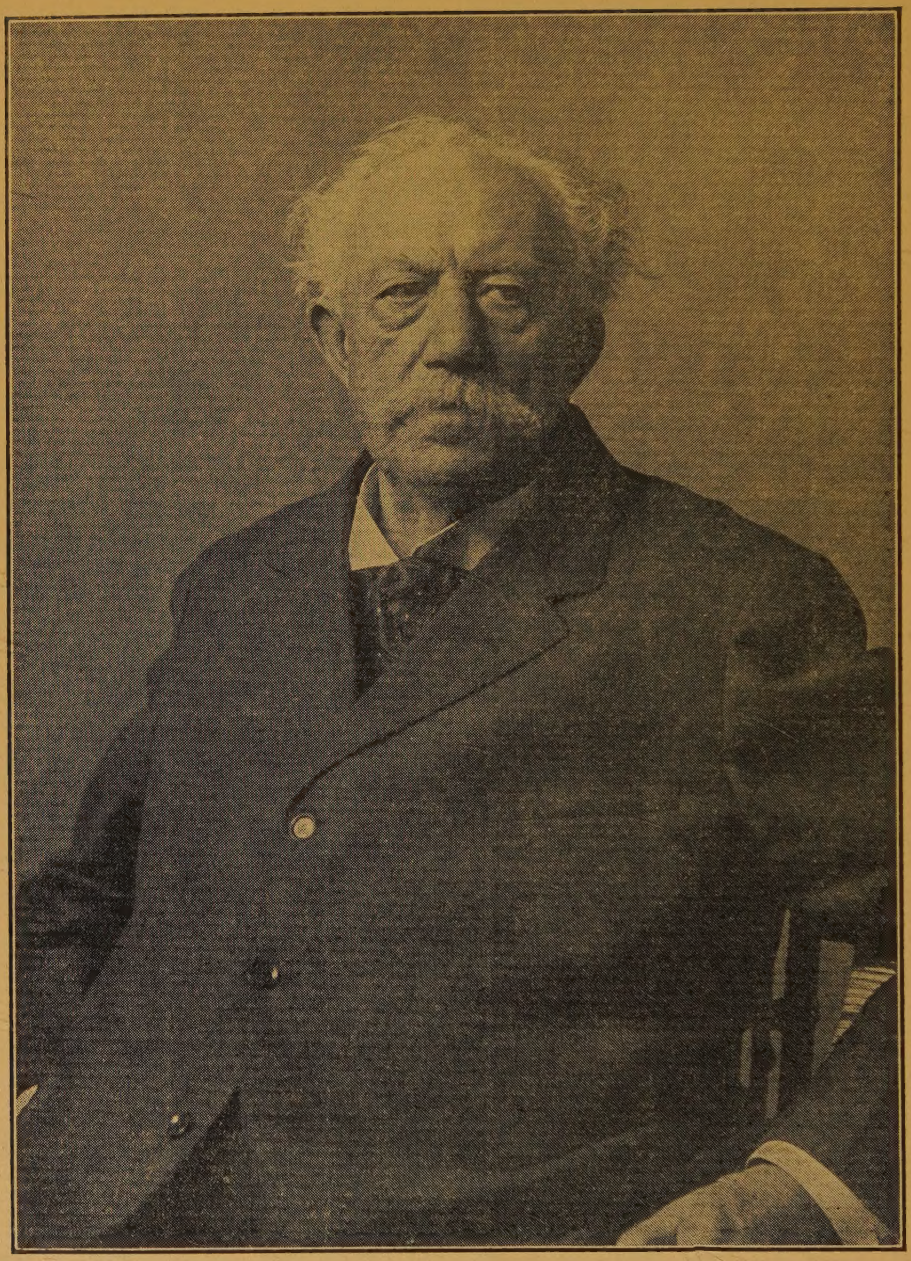

David Starr Jordan

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE GETS UNDER WAY

EDITORIAL

THE millions of people who have looked forward to the Disarmament Conference with hope, have breathed more freely as the Conference has gotten under way and the rumors of an early adjournment without action have not been realized. Deep as were the shadows cast over the assembly by the situation in the Far East they had at least this advantage—they made it impossible for any delegate to approach his responsibilities in any light or flippant mood. When, in his opening address, Mr. Arthur Henderson, President of the Conference, said, "I refuse to contemplate even the possibility of failure," he made himself spokesman of those voiceless millions throughout the world who are insistant that something *must* be accomplished.

It is now apparent that the sessions are to be continued, perhaps for months, and that nothing that is happening in China *need* keep the governments of America and Europe from steadfastly pressing for disarmament. What needs to be made clear at Geneva is that a disarmed Japan would never have made the onslaught upon Manchuria and Shanghai that have cost her the friendship of the civilized world: Japan would have sought redress for real or fancied wrongs in a humane and decent way, through the League of Nations, the World Court, or a friendly diplomacy.

A recent News Letter, issued by the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, summarizes the arguments for action in this way:

1. Some nations are already disarmed. It is possible for some nations to disarm entirely and for others to disarm in certain categories.

2. It is claimed that disarmament of frontiers is impossible.

The answer to this is the United States-Canadian border. If two nations can do this, could not all the nations do likewise by international agreement?

3. Total and universal abolition of all land, sea and air armaments to the level of a police force by international agreement has already been proposed by Russia through Litvinov. Russia still adheres to it. And now, France comes forward with a similar proposal. It may be premature, but if two of the Great Powers are ready to disarm if others will, surely such a proposal is worthy of serious consideration. "There are at least twelve Senators in the United States who believe that it is timely for nations whose representatives are assembled at Geneva to discuss total disarmament."

4. The world economic situation demands that something drastic be done. Upon the back of the workers chiefly rests the burden of paying the $5,000,000,000 which Mr. Hoover has stated is the annual burden which Europe and America carry for armament that never protects but inevitably leads to war.

5. The unsettled political condition, in some places bordering on chaos and revolution, demands some action now if confidence in government is to be restored.

6. The people of the earth have never been so much aroused on the subject of disarmament as now. The presentation of millions of signed petitions at Geneva was most impressive. The governments dare not disappoint their people.

7. The legal and moral obligations resting on the nations signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact should force them to take action that means something.

8. According to the present attitude of the United States, the European nations will not make a convincing case for further reduction of Allied Debts as long as the debtors continue to spend a vastly larger amount on armaments than on debt payments. Any further revision of debts should be met by commensurate reduction in armament by both debtor and creditor.

Meantime the eyes of all the world are focussed on Geneva and the action that takes place there.

J. H. R.

DAVID STARR JORDAN

by

CHARLES HENRY RIEBER
Dean, University of California at Los Angeles

IN the preface to his autobiography—"The Days of a Man"—Dr. Jordan says: "For half a century the writer of these pages has been a very busy man, living meanwhile threee more or less independent lives; first, and for the love of it, that of a naturalist and explorer; second, also for the love of it, that of a teacher; and third, from a sense of duty, that of a minor prophet of Democracy." Each of these three lives he has lived to the full, accomplishing three times as much as most men, even specialists. Among his major attributes are a marvelous memory, vivid imagination, patience and unlimited capacity for hard work. His other big qualities of mind and heart, which have endeared him to countless friends, colleagues and students, can only be hinted at here. Of his preëminence in the first two fields of endeavor I have also no space to speak. In this sketch, it is an outstanding phase of the third life, that of the social philosopher, which I am to appraise—namely, his contribution to the cause of democracy and world peace.

His thought partly moulded in early manhood by an eager reading of Emerson, Thoreau and Lowell, the young naturalist-teacher showed from the beginning an interest in human affairs quite outside his scientific absorptions. With added years he became an increasingly effective moral force in his rapidly expanding sphere of influence. It was not, however, until 1898, during the Spanish-American War, that he especially concerned himself with international politics. Thus the address entitled "Lest We Forget,"* delivered in San Francisco on the evening after Dewey's

*This address was afterward printed with several others on allied subjects under the significant title, "Imperial Democracy."

victory in Manila Bay, marked his entrance into a new field. On that occasion he warned the American people of dangers inherent in our conquest, and the likelihood of its resulting in a sad departure from democratic traditions.

Events of the Boer War confirmed and deepened him in his new convictions. At the same time, also, as a biologist he began to study the ravages of war upon posterity, a line of research leading up to his most distinctive contribution to the subject of war and peace. To this I shall later revert. In 1907, with the broadening of his activities in the sphere of internationalism, he instituted at Stanford University, in conjunction with Professor Benjamin Krehbiel, a course of lectures on international conciliation, the syllabus then printed for the use of students being the first ever prepared on that subject. This guide Krehbiel afterward expanded into his "War, Nationalism and Society," the forerunner, in a certain sense, of such scholarly volumes as Moon's "Syllabus for the Study of International Relations," and other similar works on "International Organization."

There have been many estimates of Jordan's character, purposes and accomplishments in the field of international understanding. It is impossible here to discuss these appraisals of the man and to show, by actual quotations from his published writings, how much he was misunderstood in the days of excitement and hysteria just before America's entry into the European War. Time has already vindicated him. One of the most remarkable post-war documents is "An Open Letter to David Starr Jordan" from the man who led the mob which broke through the cordon of police surrounding a meeting where Dr. Jordan was protesting against our participation in the war. In a long, honorable, complete apology, the writer says: "I acted after the fashion of an animal. The propaganda surrounding me on every side had affected me precisely as the tom-tom beating of a tribe in an African jungle affects the youths whom their chiefs and medicine men desire to stir to battle . . . you were motivated by the principles of civilization while I was motivated by the passions of barbarism."

In a pamphlet of twenty-four pages, recently printed by

Stanford University, are listed upwards of four hundred and fifty titles of books and articles on international peace written by Dr. Jordan during the last thirty years. There are repetitions in these writings, of course. But he is never diffuse. He states again and again, in new ways, the central arguments against war and always in language of simple dignity and power, leaving epigrams to linger in the memory. It is difficult to select from this immense list of his writings, but I think the most irrefutably convincing statements of his doctrines are found in "The Standing Incentives to War" and "War and the Breeds."

In the essay on "standing incentives to war," Jordan deals with factors inherent in the War System as such. The secret bases of war are not armies and navies, but "war traders, armament builders, money lenders, recipients of special privileges, the corrupt portion of the press, and all other influences impelled by choice, interest, or necessity." Among the "standing incentives" he places last, but not least, the pseudo-patriotic school teacher. "In the rear follows the schoolmaster, extolling the glories of war and exalting Thackeray's

'Redcoat bully in his boots
That hides the march of man from us.'"

All of the ever present, hidden incentives to war are actually confined to comparitively few persons, but the pressure from this minority is so insidiously persistent that at last the rank and file of the uneducated come to believe that war, however costly and tragically painful, is necessary and that in the end it will be genuinely beneficial.

"War and the Breed" contains a summing up of arguments earlier presented (in part) in two other smaller books, "The Blood of the Nation" and "The Human Harvest." "War's Aftermath," written in collaboration with Professor Harvey E. Jordan of the University of Virginia, deals with the social devastation wrought by the Civil War in Virginia.

Discussing the incalculable, tragic consequences of war, Dr. Jordan quotes Franklin's words, "Wars are not paid for in wartime; the bill comes later." The costs of war are thus of two

kinds—"the first costs" and "the last cost." The first costs are the immediate destruction of life and the waste of the world's physical resources. But the last cost is the visiting of the iniquity of the fathers upon the children even unto the tenth generation. Indeed, the actual loss in life and wealth is insignificant in comparison with those remoter losses which result from the deterioration of the race not merely physically but spiritually. And the spiritual losses through wars are the most devastating—the degradation of truth, honesty, love, sympathy and all the other higher human virtues.

In Jordan's opinion no scientific problem of the day surpasses in interest and importance the destruction in war of the finest specimens of manhood and the resultant reversal of selection. "Through the reversal of selection," he writes, "due to the destruction of the young, the strong, the bold, the soldierly elements, the parentage of the nation is left to those war cannot use. For two thousand years this has been the most terrible fact in the history of Europe, the hidden cause of the downfall of empires, the basis of the problems of the slum, the basal cause of apathy, inefficiency, sterility and the drooping spirit of modern Europe." With such statements of irrefutable fact, Jordan has furnished the peace movement the most powerful weapon against the "social darwinist," who claims that "war is based on the natural struggle for existence and represents the selection of the fittest."

Certain clerical critics have objected to his arguments against war on the ground that they were too materialistic; he reaches his conclusions by inductive reasoning upon biological and other physical consequences. But "there is a little final difference," he replies, "between idealistic pacifists like the Quakers who condemn war for its own sake as contrary to morals and religion, and inductive pacifists who, studying war's effects, condemn it as thoroughly bad from every point of view."

Every plan that Dr. Jordan has ever suggested for peace and good will among nations has depended on public opinion for the enforcement of its provisions. Upon this central imperative he insists with repeated emphasis. A "league to enforce peace" breaks

down under the stress of its own inner self-contradiction. Likewise, he objects to the employment of boycott to secure peace (a plan often proposed) quite as much as to military force. Boycott, he declares, is "a two-edged sword cutting first the hand that wields it."

In one essay of a book of general import entitled "War and Waste,"* he pleads for the extension of international law, the development of the "machinery of conciliation" and especially for the employment of Joint High Commissions in matters of international friction. This volume he dedicates

To
The Memory of
SIR CHARLES BAGOT
and of
RICHARD RUSH
patriots of a hundred years ago, who excluded warships from the Great Lakes of America, and thus secured lasting peace between two great nations. Where there are no soldiers there is no war; when nobody is loaded nobody explodes.

In this connection may be recalled Jordan's historic address at Ghent in 1914 on the occasion of the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent making peace between Great Britain and the United States after the War of 1812, and leading to the dismantling of the Canadian boundary.

His faith in the Joint High Commission as an important tool for conciliation rests partly on personal and practical grounds, it having been his privilege to serve the United States on three such bodies dealing with international zoological problems. Moreover, in 1916, at a most critical juncture in our relations with Mexico, he acted as one of the three American representatives in the joint El Paso Conference, which helped to avert war apparently impending with our sister state.

As has been pointed out by several of his reviewers, the term "pacifist" is not the proper designation of Dr. Jordan. He is primarily not a pacifist, but a democrat. He holds that safety against war must be found not in impregnable forts and invincible armies, but in the enlightened hearts of self-governing peoples. "The

*So named from its initial essay, an address delivered at the Harvard Union in 1911.

success of democratic institutions in America is the greatest single asset of the peace movement for our colossal nation has developed along lines of popular government and federation." Wars are not conflicts between one specific nation, country or race and another, but between autocrats who try, by external force, to compel obedience and order and the democrats who aim to perpetuate the true human society by internal freedom. And as a derivative thesis of this fundamental idealistic doctrine, he holds that "peace can not be secured by mere submission. To lie down before aggression is to accept the doctrine that might makes right, and furthermore to throw open the doors to new assaults."

After the declaration of war by the United States, it was quite to be expected that all those who, like Dr. Jordan, had spoken so openly and so forcibly against our armed participation in the conflict, should be watched with suspicion, and criticized for every pacific utterance. During the World War, he did, as before, plead for conciliation, arbitration and progressive mediation. But he also said, and said repeatedly: "We are in the war and we can neither back out nor sidestep. All our energies, therefore, must be bent on the support of the cause espoused by the nation." The conflict actually under way, moreover, he refrained from public criticism, saying: "I believe the time to oppose what seems a wrong policy is before its adoption; and furthermore, I shall put no obstacle in the way of men engaged in loyal service."

Meanwhile (1915) in "Ways to Lasting Peace," he reviewed in detail the various proposals already put forth for the reconstruction of the world at the ending of the hideous conflict. In "Democracy and World Relations," published on Armistice Day, he furthermore summed up his thought on many problems of the modern state as related to its neighbors.

In spite of its "demand for the impossible," Dr. Jordan was strongly in favor of accepting the whole Treaty of Peace as President Wilson brought it back from Versailles. He was certain that no one of its provisions was so bad that it was not capable of correction as the years went by. At that time he wrote: "The League of Nations will be what world public opinion makes of it,

and in every country public opinion is a long way ahead of the time-serving government. The League gives a chance to talk things over, and to delay violent action. Any sort of a legalized concern would apparently have made the outset of the great war impossible."

Because the socialists in all countries are, in general, opposed to violence as a method of settling disputes between individuals or nations, he was often mistakenly classed with them. To this he strongly objected. "I would feel no more at home," he said, "among socialists than among capitalists . . . . too much public ownership reduces initiative and cuts the nerve of private enterprise." His central objection to the general theory of socialism he has put in one of his characteristically terse epigrams—"No permanent association is possible where drones and workers have equal access to the honey cells." Another definite theory he has with reference to the tariff. Protective tariffs he classes among the chief obstacles to friendliness between nations, putting them among the potent standing incentives to war. "Customs houses are symbols of suspicion and greed, relics of the time when it was thought to be good economics to make foreigners pay the taxes."

As the ultimate corroboration of Jordan's leadership in the cause of international amity came the winning in 1925 of the Raphael Herman Award for the best among six thousand plans for world education for peace. This scheme is now about to be put into operation under the auspices of the World Federation of Education Associations. The plan, instead of setting up a full program of education or a course adaptable to the various sections of our educational systems, proposed a series of fact-finding committees; the fact being discovered, definite lines of procedure were to be inaugurated. These investigations refer to education for peace in general, the teaching of history, the international use of athletic sports, etc., the current arguments for war as a cosmic necessity, and the import of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The main emphasis, however, is laid on two things; the establishment of an official "Council of Peace" or "Bureau of Conciliation" within the Department of State, and (most im-

portant of all) the abatement of "standing incentives to war." Here the author of the plan lays his finger upon most urgent and most delicate questions. "Even admitting," he says, "that a large and well equipped military force will make for victory in case of an attack by jealous neighbbors or other imaginary enemies, *to what extent does it also invite war?*"

The limits of this article do not permit the enumeration in detail of the many other ways in which David Starr Jordan has worked to promote the ideals of world peace and unity. The influence of his powerful and stimulating personality has reached far beyond this country and this generation. His lectures in America, Europe, Japan and Australia have inspired thousands upon thousands. Some of his writings have been translated into Spanish, French, German and Japanese. And all this effort he has carried on at a great personal sacrifice of time, money and, occasionally, of popularity. To him it was more than a labor of love to hold out and to defend the cause of peace. His place in the movement for world unity is assured for all time to come.

The first publication by the World Unity Memorial to David Starr Jordan, announced elsewhere in the present issue.

MORAL ASPECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

by

ERNST JONSON

Author of "Toward a Modern Culture," etc.

UNEMPLOYMENT has brought deprivation and worry to the great majority of our people. To millions it has brought want and suffering. Hundreds of thousands have been permanently impoverished. It has impaired the health of other hundreds of thousands. Many have taken their own life, overwhelmed by discouragement. But that is not all: it has impaired the stability of our social order by engendering widespread disbelief in the right of property.

Every social or economic obligation presupposes the continuance of the social and economic order under which it was imposed or contracted. In a social and economic vacuum no obligation could retain its force. Therefore insofar as the economic presuppositions of an obligation are removed by unemployment, such obligation suffers a corresponding loss of force. For example, the obligation to respect rights of property presupposes that it is possible for the masses of the people to provide themselves with food and shelter without curtailing these rights. When the ownership of land is used to deprive the masses of food and shelter such ownership becomes precarious and seldom lasts long. When morality says to the individual: you shall not steal, nor take by force thy neighbor's goods there is behind the dictum that tacit presupposition that food and shelter may be otherwise procured. This condition of the rights of property has been recognized by the Christian Church from the beginning. The Church of Rome explicitly declares that to appropriate another's property in face of extreme necessity is not to steal. The church places life before property.

This disintegrating influence which unemployment exerts upon our social order might be somewhat mitigated by the exercise of leniency in the execution of economic law. Ruthless execution of contract under these abnormal conditions is contrary to public policy, and therefore is bad law. To turn a man and his family out of their home because industry has failed to provide work for him and thus made it impossible for him to pay rent, or interest on mortgages, or taxes, will not benefit society, but will work social injury. Nor should a man in business be penalized for failure to fulfil pecuniary obligations if such obligations have been reasonably incurred and the failure to fulfil them is due to general depression of business. To deprive a man of the tools or equipments which have made him useful to society and which, when normal conditions are restored, again will make him useful, is not public policy. If, for lack of organizing initiative we shall continue to fall into industrial depressions public policy demands that the ill effects of such depression be as much as possible minimized by judicial leniency in the execution of contract or other obligation, and thereby as much as possible distributed among the people. No class or interest should be held immune from the ill effects of depression. In the field of international finance the old idea of economic responsibility has been abandoned. The debtor's ability to pay has become recognized as a governing principle. It is time a like readjustment be made in the realm of personal finance.

So long as men work with simple tools every man can fend for himself, every family is an independent economic unit. Machine industry requires cooperation, organization, centralized control. In the industrialized society the worker no longer owns and controls his tool; it is owned by the stockholder and controlled by the industrial manager. Thus machine industry has deprived the great majority of the people of their economic independence, and made them dependent for their living upon the managers of industry. Were some of our larger industries to shut down, few men would be able to make a living. Among the city populations unemployment would become general. Liquid capital available for relief would soon be exhausted. Millions would starve. There would be

looting and general chaos. Governments would be forced to take over the agricultural industries together with the systems of transportation and distribution so as to be able to feed the people. The captain of industry has given us a new prosperity, a greater prosperity, a splendid prosperity—splendid when it works—but the price we have paid for it is our economic independence. The new industrial order, which has given us this splendid prosperity, has made us dependent upon the captain of industry for our food, and our home, and everything. We should like to go to work, but the captain of industry cannot see a way to make this possible for us.

Now if the industrialist has created a situation in which the people cannot make a living unless he keeps the wheels of industry moving he must assume the responsibility for unemployment and all its distressing consequences. In such society the average man is wholly powerless to keep industry from falling into depression and consequently cannot justly be held responsible for any consequences of depression. In such society therefore the responsibility for providing sustenance for the people and for maintaining the rights of property falls largely upon the captains of industry.

But is the captain of industry really responsible for our plight? Could he help it? Some think, men in high places too, that he couldn't, that the periodic rise and fall of business results from a law of nature so astute that to circumvent it lies not within the range of human ingenuity. These believe that although the raw materials and machinery of production are all at hand, and six millions of men stand ready and anxious to go to work, and a hundred millions want more things than any industry can ever produce, some mysterious insuperable obstacle makes it impossible to set the machinery in motion. But how can anyone doubt that an organization like the War Industries Board could in a short time put everybody to work making things for the American people, if not for the world?

The War Industries Board did well enough, says the practical man of business, but then the War stood there ready to consume all they could get the industries to produce. Now they would make but a poor showing; now we are afflicted with over-production.

Could any board—no matter how constituted and authorized—make the people consume more than they now do?

Our industries are crippled because the public don't buy as much goods as the machinery of production is set for producing. And why don't the public buy? Because they don't want things? No, because they don't have the money. And why don't they have the money? Because Industry has not paid them enough. There is no other source from which the public could get money. There are times when Industry pays the public enough to enable them to buy the entire product of industry. It is in times when industry is expanding that this is most likely to happen. Much money is spent upon machinery of production, and this money enables the public to buy all the consumable goods made for them. When this new equipment begins to yield consumable goods the volume of these goods is greatly increased and with the increase in volume the money value of the product increases too. Where is the additional money to come from with which to pay for this increment of value? It could come only from Industry. The public could continue to buy the entire product of industry only if Industry increased people's incomes in the same proportion as it increased its product. This would mean, first of all, a rise in the scale of wages, but under the law of supply and demand no such rise is brought about. The law of supply and demand works the other way. Every machine added to Industry's equipment tends to decrease the demand for labor. In the shoe industry, for example, a single machine does the work of 250 men; in the automobile industry an improvement in the manufacture of automobile frames has enabled one man to do the work of ten men. Some years ago a man spent a day making forty electric light bulbs; now a machine turns out 73,000 in twenty-four hours. A machine has been invented which can make 32,000 razor blades in the time required by one man to produce 500. An automatic glass blower can turn out as many bottles as forty workers. In loading pig iron, two laborers accomplish today as much as 128 men accomplished a few years ago. While many of the workers thus displaced find employment in new industries, the chances for employment are reduced by the introduction of machinery. Thus

from 1919 to 1927 the number of persons employed in manufacturing, mining and transportation decreased from 13,649,000 to 12,655,000. In the same period the number of workers employed in agriculture was reduced, largely as result of labor-saving machinery, from 11,300,000 to 10,400,000. Under the law of supply and demand such a situation could not bring about any rise in the scale of wages. It would tend rather to lower the scale. No wonder the public fails to buy the augmented volume of product. No wonder machine industry, from the beginning, has suffered periodic depression. Industry must continue to fall into depressions as long as it allows the scale of wages to be governed by the law of supply and demand. Depressions will cease only when Industry comes to see that it is the volume of its product that must determine the scale of wages, and not the relation of the supply of labor to the demand for it. We must cease to regard the sum of a man's wages as earned by him. What he has earned is not a sum, but a proportion of a sum which Industry has earned.

To establish scales of wages upon the basis of Industry's earnings, and thus circumvent the law of supply and demand, is a task which the individual employer cannot perform. No individual employer can afford to pay wages markedly higher than other employers, and if he did so this would not help materially unless the rest followed suit. As men are at present constituted such spontaneous cooperation is most unlikely. Only through organization could it be accomplished, only through some authoritative organization, such as the old guilds. The big industries conceivably might agree among themselves to pay adequate wages, and hold to their agreement, but to bring the whole body of business into line would require some exercise of authority. Therefore if the adequate wage cannot be established through individual initiative the responsibility for unemployment is not an individual responsibilty; it is the responsibility of a group. The duty of feeding the working people and safeguarding the wealth of the owning class rests upon the managing, financing and trading group as a whole, for they can perform this duty only if they act in concert. It is a responsibility which does not fall upon a few captains of in-

dustry alone, but which embraces the entire body of men who have taken upon themselves the guardianship of invested wealth. Every man at the head of a business, no matter how small, must assume his share of this responsibility, a share roughly proportional to the volume of business dependent upon his initiative.

A task which is essentially the task of a group can be performed only through cooperative action. It requires organization. The uninterrupted operation of modern industry at full capacity can become possible only if the whole group of employers of capital and labor form themselves into some organization and thereby place themselves under the guidance of a central governing body, charged with the task of maintaining right relations of each branch of industry to all other branches as well as to the markets in which the product is to be sold.

Such organization can be brought about only through individual initiative. The duty to organize is an individual duty. All employers share in this duty, each in proportion to his importance and influence, in proportion to the magnitude and controlling position of the industries under his direction. It is in the omission of effective steps toward organization that the individual captain of industry evades his responsibility and fails to do his duty to the people.

The running of machine industry is one of the most difficult tasks that man has ever had to face. To perform this task rightly means no less than coordinating each separate item of production to all other items. To expect such coordination to be brought about by uncoordinated initiative indicates an almost infantile simplicity of mind. Indeed it might seem as if pure self-interest should induce Business to organize, but the strange fact is that hitherto it has not done so.

One of the excuses which industrialists give for not organizing is that the anti-trust laws prohibit organization. We would like to organize, says the captain of industry, but you won't let us; you have made laws which prohibit effectual organization of industry. It is a question, however, whether the anti-trust laws prohibit organized action for the purpose of raising wages and reducing the

hours of labor, and these are the two amendments most urgently needed for the stabilizing of our economic system. The anti-trust laws are designed to prevent Industry from exploiting the people. When Industry discovers that its interests coincide with those of the people, and takes steps to accomplish that which the anti-trust laws aimed at but failed to accomplish, it will be easy to get these laws amended, or repealed, if amendment or repeal be needed to enable Industry to prevent profiteering and to establish the adequate wage.

The true reason why business men shy from organization may be something very different from fear of the anti-trust laws. The development of machine industry brought with it many splendid chances for profiteering. Is it the fear that effective industrial organization would reduce the opportunities for profiteering that sets many business men against the idea? They do not realize how slim are the average business man's chances to profiteer. They do not realize that profiteering is a thing for the few, and not for the many.

Industry, in the sense of the sum of all productive activity, directly or indirectly productive, agriculture, manufacture, trade, transportation, banking, and all useful business whatsoever, cannot get out of the consuming public any more money than it pays to them in the form of wages, salaries, fees, profits, interests, dividends, rents, graft, robberies. That much Industry can get out of the people; no more. The profiteer is one who manages to get hold of more than his just share of this sum. The public sustain no pecuniary losses from profiteering; it is out of his fellow business men's pockets that the profiteer takes his gains. The profiteer is a parasite upon the general body of business.

What the public loses through profiteering is not money but goods. The profiteer lowers the people's scale of living by curtailing their power to consume the product of industry. This loss of consuming power reacts upon industry by restricting production which brings unemployment attended with further loss of consuming power.

Here we have one reason why business should organize: to

protect itself against the profiteer—a sufficient reason in itself. The average business man has little chance to become a profiteer. His chances are all in the opposite direction, to become the prey of the profiteer. This was one of the chief reasons for the old craft guilds, to prevent profiteering by maintaining the just price.

In the last century we saw in the tendency to accumulate large fortunes a menace to our political and economic well-being. We fought the trusts. We tried to restrain Big business. But in spite of all our political jargoning Big business grew bigger and the trusts stronger. And, contrary to our apprehensions the people grew, not poorer, but more prosperous. Today fortunes that are many times larger than those of the nineties give us not the least apprehension. Today the magnitude of a trust does not worry us in the least. We tolerate trusts and millionaires because we begin to suspect that they have been instrumental in making us more prosperous. We begin to see that these fortunes and these trusts are based upon mass production, and that mass production means production for the masses, that is to say, we begin to see great fortunes as a by-product of general prosperity. This is the reason why we have ceased to worry over swollen fortunes.

Big business, by its nature, is monopolistic. Let us recognize this fact. We have proved the futility of trying to make Big business behave contrary to its nature. The anti-trust laws have not prevented exploitation. The continuance of economic depressions is the proof of this. The root of business depression is lack of popular purchasing power, and this again is the result of exploitation. Let us make our laws to conform with realities, let us recognize Big business as monopoly and condition its monopoly by assigning to it corresponding obligations. First of all, let us assign to Big business the duty of maintaining the principle of the adequate wage, which is the wage that will enable the people to consume without interruption the goods which Industry produces for their consumption. And let the captain of industry realize and remember that he is the economic guardian of the nation and that this guardianship has not been thrust upon him, but that he, of his own free initiative, has assumed it.

The idea of conditional monopoly is an old one. The crafts guilds were privileged bodies, but their privileges were conditioned by the performance of certain public duties. They were granted charters by the State which gave them monopoly of trade within a town or a city, but it was not a monopoly which conferred upon them the privilege of exploiting the community. The guilds were required to maintain the principle of the just wage and the just price, and to suppress profiteering. The supreme need of modern capitalism is some adaptation of the idea of the guild. If we shall avoid the periodic attacks of industrial paralysis and prevent the resultant losses to society and to the individual; if we always shall have a job for every worker who wants one and keep our machinery of production moving, Industry must provide itself with some central organ which shall be its seeing eye and guiding hand. So long as Industry continues to grope its way blindly periodic chaos is inevitable.

THE COMMON MESSAGE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT TEACHERS

by

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Chapter II

THE MASTERS

As we approach this chapter we feel concerning these masters who are to speak in this volume as did the Greeks when they said to Philip, "We would see Jesus." Yes! We should like to meet them. Who are these men whose voices come across oceans and continents and across the ages? Where did they live? When and to what peoples did they teach? What of their preparation and of the characteristics of their illuminating personalities?

Before beginning our discussion of the outstanding principles in the messages of these men, we must be introduced to them. Legend, tradition and the stories of fertile imaginations envelop their history. Across the centuries their personalities shine brighter and more glorious. Their fundamental greatness and refinement seems to unfold as time goes by. The fame of each grows with the years. In some sections two or three of them are held to be of equal importance. One does not diminish by coming in contact with the others. The similarity of their teachings tends to reinforce them all.

On their philosophies have been formulated the great spiritual religions of the world. They are widely separated both in time and country, but running through their philosophies like a golden thread is a great common message, a message that concerns the

nature of man, his possibilities for an ever expanding life, his responsibility to his fellows and to society, his relation to nature and to God. To name them in the order of their following is not necessarily to name them in the order of their importance to the world. Time alone must render that final verdict. Such a classification will, however, serve to show how at present they dominate the thinking of men.

Our list will begin with Gautama Buddha. Born a prince of India, heir to every luxury and comfort which wealth could bestow upon man, driven onward by an innate desire to know the mysteries of life, he left his home, his wealth, his luxury, and his loved ones to search in poverty for the truth which makes all men free. Impressed and depressed by ignorance, old age, disease and death, he set out to find a way of escape from these evils.

The story of the beginning of his search for the truth, while colored no doubt with the imaginations of fond admirers, serves to indicate some of the problems which he sought to solve. On meeting an aged man he asked: "Are all men subject to age?" "Even so, my lord," replied his charioteer. "Then," said the young prince, "shame on life since every living thing decays!" At another time as he rode forth he came upon a man burning and emaciated with fever. Seeing this he said, "If health be frail as the substance of a dream, who then can take delight in joy and pleasure?"

The third time as he rode with his charioteer he came upon a funeral procession. He was informed that this man was dead, that his life and mind had gone out of him. The famous utterance which he is supposed to have made on this occasion represents the line of his search. "Woe then to such youth as is destroyed by age! Woe to the health that is destroyed by maladies! Woe to the life so soon ended. Would that sickness, age, and death might be chained forever. Turn back, O Charioteer, that I may seek a way of deliverance."

How to become the master of the evil results of age, sickness, and death represents the heart of his message. The story of his quest, while stated in dramatic language, is the story of the life of every individual who finds the way to permanent happiness. From

one extreme to the other his life swung like a pendulum; from luxury to privation and asceticism, until he discovered for himself the great middle path, the way of temperance, moderation and self-control. For forty years he preached his spiritual and ethical philosophy, giving instruction on every phase of life. His disciples at his death gathered his teachings into four books, called Nikayas.

For twenty-five centuries his philosophy has gradually spread over the Western world. It did not take heavy root in the land of his nativity, but, found fertile soil in the minds of the yellow race. China, Japan, Korea, Siam, Burma, and certain parts of Tibet have been helped to a larger life by this highly intellectual and deeply spiritual philosophy. Nearly seven hundred and fifty million souls claim this man of destiny as their leader.

Next in order, according to the number of adherents, we meet the most mysterious and magnetic personality in history—Jesus of Nazareth. Mysterious because it has been impossible to account for his mind content, his exalted spirituality, his complete and fundamental philosophy of the "life abundant" which he came to give.

There is little in the schools of his day and in the vicinity of his nativity to produce such a personality. His brilliant childhood to the age of twelve is given to us in some detail. Then, like a disappearing meteor, he drops out of sight. For eighteen years there is but one single, solitary, reference to his life, and then like the rising of a sun he appears in Galilee at the age of thirty and we are asked to "Behold the Lamb of God." This striking Semitic figure with three years only of active teaching has so captured the imagination and reason of the western mind as to become the outstanding personality of the Occident.

Less than two thousand years have passed since his birth in Bethlehem. His magic influence has spread over the West and is gradually spreading over the entire world. According to some estimates, including those who profess his teachings, other than the members of organized Christianity, his following has reached between five hundred and fifty and six hundred millions. With five hundred and fifty years less time, his following rivals that of Buddha. This man so conscious of the divinity in his own nature,

whose central theme was righteousness and the brotherhood of man, in every word and act leads man to search his own soul for the God within.

His characteristics of common sense, self-mastery, charity, justice, and love make of his personality a shining temple of light. For almost all our direct knowledge of his teachings we are dependent on Matthew, Luke, and Mark. All of these were written many years after his death. The great similarity in these writings indicates that Jesus must have stressed over and over the vital points which they contain. The Sermon on the Mount is thought by many students to be a sort of summary of the things he sought to impress upon his disciples.

In that sermon Jesus has given us a map of the good life. He has pointed the way so clearly that millions have been inspired to try his plan. So profound and searching are these principles that they are yet far in advance of our boasted civilization. He came with a message to all mankind. Notwithstanding the fact that his untimely death cut short his ministry he has become the most outstanding figure of the Western world. The similarity between the teaching of these two men, Jesus and Gautama, is so striking that many have failed to find a difference in their fundamental principles.

Our next great leader takes us to the far eastern world. In China it is said, "Confucius! Confucius! How great is Confucius! Before Confucius there never was a Confucius, since Confucius there never has been a Confucius. How great is Confucius."

It has been said that Confucius invented wisdom. If he has not invented it such sayings as the following would certainly give him credit for finding it: "When you know a thing to hold that you know it, and when you do not to admit the fact—this is knowledge."

This "master moralist" of China spent his life teaching the great ethical principles which have influenced the Chinese mind for centuries. He says: "I have never refused instruction to anyone from the man bringing the bundle of dried fish for my teachings upwards." While he held positions from the lowest to the highest, his life was spent mainly in teaching earnest students the principles of a moral life. More than five hundred million people expound

his teaching and proclaim his memory.

The date of his birth is set by some authorities at 551 B.C. He was born in the prosperous state of Lu when his father was seventy-three years of age. As a child he was a keen student, very promising, and eager to learn. He had become a teacher at nineteen and was holding the government position of Controller of the public grain, which was secured as a result of a most rigid examination. Gradually he rises in positions of importance until he becomes the Public Magistrate at the age of fifty. It is here he becomes famous for his administration of justice. His last days were spent in poverty but he continued to teach until the end came.

His philosophy rose to its highest point in his negative statement of the Golden Rule, "What you do not like when done to yourself, do not to others." At one time a disciple in search of simplicity asked him, "Can you state your system in a single word?" Confucius answered by giving the word "shu." Dr. Legge has translated the word "shu" as meaning "reciprocity" but it would appear that "shu" means more than this since "reciprocity" means do as you are done by, while "shu" means, be generous.

The five points of virtue which he taught were: wisdom, rectitude, decorum, sincerity and kindness. One time while in very poor circumstances he said to his students, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and with my bended arm for a pillow, I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness are to me as a floating cloud." Through his long career his moral life remains unstained in an age when vice flaunted itself in the open.

In a terse and comprehensive statement, Confucius sums up his own intellectual, moral and spiritual growth and development from childhood to old age. He says of himself: "At fifteen my mind was bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I was free from delusions. At fifty, I understood the laws of Providence. At sixty, my ears were attentive to the truth. At seventy, I could follow the promptings of my heart without overstepping the mean."

Contemporaneous with Confucius is a man whose birth and death are wrapped in legend. This man was Lao Tze, the founder

of an idealistic philosophy and a spiritual religion.

Perhaps no other one of the great teachers of the race so nearly approaches the fine spirituality of Jesus, as does this "venerable philosopher of China." Tradition tells us that he was sixty years old when he was born, having an old countenance and white hair, and that he lived to be two hundred years old. Some historians ascribe the place of his birth to the city of Kwei, in the province of Honan, in the year 604 B.C.

It appears that Lao Tze sought no students but taught freely without pay all those who came to him. The only literary work which he is thought to have produced is the "Tao Teh King." When old and in his latter days, he left the country. As he passed through the gate of the Great Wall at Han Ku the gate keeper said, "Master, you are going away. What will you leave us that your teachings may not be forgotten?" The sage tarried for a day or two with the gate keeper writing day and night. When he left he placed in his hand the short manuscript of the Tao Teh King. He was never seen again by mortal man. The influence of his deep spiritual teachings have spread throughout the entire eastern world. This majestic figure stands as one of the most notable, idealistic teachers of all times.

It is to this striking figure of the yellow race that the Chinese look for an explanation of the mighty forces of nature and of all the universe which they see in action. To him they looked for an explanation of the nature of the stars and sun. What is love, and what is God? His teaching transcends the idea of "do unto others as you would that others do unto you." One one occasion when Confucius urged the claims of retributive justice, Lao Tze said: "We would recompense injuries with kindness, for thus would I actualize goodness throughout the world." Lao Tze taught, that "perfect politeness is not artificial; perfect duty to one's neighbor is not a matter of calculation; perfect wisdom takes no thought; perfect charity recognizes no ties; perfect trust requires no pledges."

His conception of true marriage is one of the most sublime in all literature. "Call this love if you will. What is a name? I call it Tao and the souls of those who love are like two white clouds

floating softly side by side, that vanish, wafted by the same wind into the infinite blue of the heavens." His discussions on, What is existence? What is death? What is life? What is attainment? What is music? What is love? and, What is beauty? are most profound and penetrating.

Millions of the higher class of Chinese revere his teachings, but they are too abstract for the average man and yet the masses see dimly in these teachings the real essence of things, something which satisfies the soul. As with the other great teachers, so with Lao Tze, within a few centuries the priests and followers have made of him a god, almost entirely abandoning his pure teaching and substituting magical rights and superstitions in their place. While they are not able to adjust to his deep and penetrating thought they still respond to his majestic personality.

Our next teacher in point of following takes us to India. In his book, "India, What Can It Teach Us?" Max Muller says: "If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which deserve the attention—I should point to India." There were buddhas before Gautama. Indeed he pointed with great reverence to the masters of the past. Among these great masters before Buddha is a man who has perhaps exerted a greater influence on the thinking of the eastern world than any other individual—the master Krishna who stands to Vedic literature what Jesus is to the literature of Christianity. Krishna, who lived probably thirty-five hundred years ago, buried in the debris of legend and miraculous stories, had a personality which shines through it all as a soul who has found its own relationship to God. It is in this early Hindu thought that the idea of the "supreme self," the eternal self is developed to its highest degree.

It is difficult to find anything more lofty in the transcendent thought of Jesus and Buddha than some of the teachings of this great master. Picture him standing on the banks of the Ganges, fifteen hundred years before Jesus was born, teaching his disciples thoughts similar to the following.

"This is the sum of all true righteousness. Treat others as thou wouldest thyself be treated.

"Do nothing to thy neighbor which thereafter thou wouldst not have thy neighbor do to thee.

"In causing pleasure or in giving pain,
"In doing good or injury to others,
"In granting or refusing a request,
"A man obtains a proper rule of action,
"By looking on his neighbor as himself."

Like Jesus of Nazareth he was born of a virgin and gave his life for the cause he represented. His pure philosophy has, to a great extent, been buried under the ambitions, ignorance, superstitions, and priest-crafts of men. They have made of him the Hindu Christ but have neglected his admonitions for a pure and simple life. We shall have occasion in subsequent chapters to examine the heart of his message. The history of his life and works so closely parallels that of Jesus that one is inclined to think that much of one has been influenced by the other. He is Vishnu made manifest in the flesh. To many Hindus he is the savior to mankind. The powerful priest-crafts of Brahmanism who have espoused his teachings have so completely covered his pure and lofty principles with ritual, pagan customs, and doctrines designed to protect them in their control as to make it very difficult, if not well nigh impossible, to find his philosophy in its purity.

Another branch of the Aryan race besides the Hindus, follows a religion which their priests tell them was revealed personally by God. These people are known as the Iranians from the plains of Iran or Persia. Their sacred books are known as the Zend-Avesta, or more properly the Avesta. Their prophet or religious teacher was Zarathustra or Zoroaster. Students of Zoroastrianism differ as to his date. It is placed by some at 600 B.C. while others put it as early as 1000 B.C. Because of the lack of early historical data this towering figure is shrouded in legend and mystery. Many things concerning his early life are left unanswered, but through all the literature and teachings which are attributed to him, there shines a personality which grows more real and illuminating with study.

Tradition tells us that this student, at the age of twenty, eager for knowledge concerning the mysteries of life, disappeared from among his people and went into seclusion, presumably for meditation and study. In this respect his preparation for an active ministry is quite like that of Jesus, Confucius, and Buddha. In each case there is a period of seclusion where these men drop out of sight, after which they emerge into active ministry so dynamic as to startle the thinking of the world. It would be interesting to know just what took place during these periods of preparation.

Zoroaster remained in seclusion for ten years before he came forth at the age of thirty. He had received an enlightenment, an illumination, or a vision of God which changed him from a humble searcher to a fearless teacher of the truth. Later on we see this man as a persecuted and homeless wanderer among men. With a pathos that recalls some of the Hebrew Psalms he cries out to his god: "To what land shall I turn? Whither shall I go? None of the servants pay reverence to me, nor do the wicked rulers of the country." Fortune did not remain long against him. He soon converted the father of King Cyrus. With this old king and his son, Cyrus, thousands of Persians became followers of Zoroaster.

Cyrus carried the teachings of this Persian master into Babylon where many of them found their way into Hebrew literature. Zoroaster was to Persia what Amos was to Israel. He was the "one god" man of the Iranean plain.

With Zoroaster as with all other teachers mentioned in this chapter, we find the moral law laid in the very nature of man. "To act a successful part as a unit in the great plan of the universe, one must be no weakling. Nature abhors and is ruthless toward those who will not try to help themselves." Life to him was a fight between the good and the bad forces. The soul found its way to God by pure thoughts, pure words, and good deeds. The spiritual life was possible only by a mastery of the flesh. The following represents part of his creed: "I praise the well-thought, well-spoken, well-performed thoughts, words, and works. I lay hold on all good thoughts, words, and works. I abandon all evil thoughts, words, and works."

To single out these six men is not even to suggest that they represent the only great teachers. There are many other master minds among the Chinese, the Hindus, the Jewish Prophets, the Grecian school, as well as modern philosophers whose teaching carry the same great message. These men have been chosen because they have become the inspiration of great world systems representing high moral philosophies and deeply spiritual religions.

Separated by mountains, ocean, and continents, they teach the same great truths. By their respective peoples they have all been elevated to the positions of gods. This is not so strange as would first appear, for while they were all among the humblest of men, they taught that men are gods in embryo. Indeed it is the vision of their own soul's possibilities which made them a light and hope and inspiration to all mankind.

While they walked and taught among the common peoples of their day, and while they were conditioned by the frailties and vicissitudes of life, they held up to man a picture of his own better self.

Their philosophies have been both used and abused. Creeds, cults, and religions have grown up about them. These cults and creeds differ widely even within the same general group, but underlying all the impositions, ritual, and organizations improvised by their followers, there runs through them all a great common message. It is this common message which will be discussed in this volume.

They are called masters because of the profound and lasting nature of the truths they taught and because they developed so thoroughly within themselves the art of self-control and soul poise, as to be able to eliminate most of the discords of life. *They taught both by precept and example. They discovered the constructive principles of soul unfoldment and developed the power to hold themselves in harmony with these principles. They say in substance to the rest of mankind, "Where we have climbed, you may also climb. The divinity we have discovered in ourselves is to be found in every individual. The philosophies we teach represent the 'way' or the 'plan' by which that divinity may be discovered and realized."*

(*To be continued*)

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

by

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III. THE CULTURAL PROBLEM

The Reaction of the East

THE cultural reaction of the East against the West set in with greater severity after the World War. It started in the very regions which had been affected most by European influence. The distinguishing characteristic of these regions during the first decade of the clash between Orient and Occident was a sense of insecurity. The new had rushed in upon them; they saw themselves in the presence of strange powers and potentialities which proved to be stronger spiritually and politically. The world they had known went to pieces before their eyes; between them and the generation of their fathers yawned an abyss, full of discord and bitter aversion, which seemed unbridgeable. Uprooted to the very depths of their being, they found themselves facing new problems which, in their perplexing variety, seemed hardly solvable. They became a problem to themselves in their social environment.

A deeper insight into the intellectual and spiritual life of the West, made clear to them the insufficiencies and contradictions of European culture, brought them the knowledge of the critical voices raised against European civilization from out its own midst and began to show them the depth and beauty of their own inherited culture. The earlier sense of insecurity gave way to an often thoroughly uncritical self-assurance and self-assertedness. The World War accelerated this process. The cultural edifice of the West seemed shot through with shams: there was a contrast

between word and deed which seemed explainable only through hypocrisy. The advantage which the West had over the East seemed to lie in mere technique, a science devoid of soul, which, when combined with the deep, genuine, original culture of the Orient, must tip the balance in favor of the latter. The fine promises and moral pronouncements of European statesmen appeared to be made only for the purpose of deceiving, and were given the lie by their deeds. Europeans and Americans could no longer be trusted. The enmity towards the colonial powers, growing more and more implacable among the colored races of Asia and Africa during the last ten years, is mingled with contempt and bitter exasperation, and is strengthened by the fact that they are conscious, first of all, of their own helplessness. Every injustice that is suffered is felt doubly, and injustice is supposed to be intended where no such motive exists. The still great difference in habits of thought and feeling increases the number of misunderstandings. The more the cinema and the press present the masses with accounts of the West that are often one-sided and distorted, the more occasions there are for misunderstanding. But, with the exception of a few men—politicians, scholars and missionaries—the peoples of the Occident have taken just as little account of the transformation which has taken place in the East. Through a deeper and deeper penetration into the lower classes in the East this transformation has begun to work fundamental changes in their political and social outlook. An oriental Christian, an Armenian, has summed up the conviction of the East in these words: "To itself and for itself the West thinks only of warships, war planes and poison gas; the West preaches 'the cross' in order, really, to crucify us and those who voice our yearning for freedom."

This reaction has set in not only among oriental peoples like the Hindus, the Chinese or the Arabs, who are foremost in the public eye, but also among those whose new goal of activity is not yet so strongly in evidence, whether because of oppressive colonial rule, the silent patience of those races or their situation away from the main lines of communication in the Orient. In French Indo-China the natives do not enjoy that freedom of speech which the

natives have in British India or in China. Nevertheless, the Annamite, Duang-Van-Loi, wrote to the *Asie Française* in 1928: "It has always been our lot to be treated as pariahs. Indeed, we have run the whole gamut again and again. It matters not at all, in our colony, whether the administration is headed by a rigid conservative or a socialist. It makes no difference to anyone. Annamites can expect nothing from the false liberalism of imperialistic rule. The Annamite people can rely only upon themselves." And in August, 1927, a native scholar who had been educated in French universities wrote in the *National Annamite,* the organ of the independence party of the young Annamites, that European history with its uninterrupted succession of wars and revolts presents a picture that rouses a feeling of horror. It is true that Christianity, "a breath of love arising out of Asia," curbed the barbarity of Europe for a short time, but (as the writer states further) under the thin veneer of Roman Catholicism, and especially since the Renaissance, Europe's old lusts have risen up again in their original shamelessness. The modern age in Europe is "the age of international butcheries, uprisings among the masses, and a colonial robbery which has ravaged the entire earth and tends towards the eventual destruction of the whole human race." In contrast to this, the four thousand years of Annamite history up to the arrival of the French appear to the writer in a glorified light as "a millennial era of the peace of philosophical meditation, a life devoted to the search for truth and to the worship of beauty, excellence, justice and humanity."

The influence of the Russian Revolution worked too towards a critical alignment against imperialism and the conventional lip-service to idealism of the West. The social and religious traditions of the oriental peoples in the Soviet Union were attacked by the teaching of Bolshevism and an attempt was successfully made to awaken those peoples and to substitute for their backward traditionalism a new national self-consciousness, the emancipation of the masses and their participation in political and social activity, and an habituation to the American idea of efficiency. These peoples, deprived under czarist rule of every possibility of cultural and social development and kept in a state of medieval feudalism,

now saw themselves suddenly transferred into the Twentieth Century. Their languages, cultures and literatures were enlarged. In many instances they were given a modern literary form for the first time and were directed, from the beginning, against an overvaluation of western capitalistic politics and culture. This would not fail to influence the reaction of other oriental peoples also.

Even the missions were affected by this reaction of the East. The Christian missions, especially the Protestant, and Young Men's Christian Associations have often unintentionally played an important role in the awakening of modern movements in the Orient. The leaders of efforts towards national and social emancipation in Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Persia, China and Korea were frequently their pupils. Instruction in missionary schools and universities was not so much concerned with Christianity as with western European and American civilization and modes of life. They were often, even in Africa, Europe's pioneers in preparatory education in western ideals. In laying stress upon character development and sport they awakened the spirit of initiative, the desire for activity and independence; they furthered the awakening of conscious individuality, stimulated self-consciousness and presented new standards of value. The verdict of the Persians on the American college in Teheran, quoted by Sir Denison Ross—"The Americans in Teheran have a factory where they manufacture men"—can also be applied to other schools of this kind.

The conduct of missions in the Orient became more problematical because of its Christian propaganda conducted in a spirit of racial and cultural superiority. Orientals often declare that Christianity and its teachings were only an article of export, not being practised in Europe itself but adapted to the subjugation of inferior peoples. "But their propaganda—their effort to impose their conception of the world upon others—did not limit itself to spiritual weapons; it relied upon vehicles of political power in the nations from which it proceeded. Unlike Buddhism, which had arisen in its time without any political aspiration, the Christian mission was a political agent from the start. Even if it had not intended to be one, it was utilized as one by the governments sup-

porting it. It may be said, however, that the mission's objection to being made use of politically was often purely platonic, and nothing more. The advantages of governmental protection were too obvious to be lightly exchanged for danger and unnecessary martyrdom." (Richard Wilhelm). Faced by the reaction of the Orient, the missions began to recognize the fact that they could maintain their position only by changing their attitude. The International World Congress of Protestant Missionaries admitted this during its session in Jerusalem at Easter time, 1928. While at the previous congress in Edinburgh in 1910 there were only twenty representatives of the colored races among three thousand delegates, the Asiatics and Africans, eighteen years later, constituted more than a third of the participants and won the lead, spiritually, in theological matters, as they did in the discussion of political and social problems. For the first time the young churches of the Orient and of Africa met the mother churches on a basis of equal rights. Whereas formerly the European-American missionary had sought to impose his own culture, as a benefit, upon the population he expected to convert and had ingenuously identified his civilization with Christianity, it now came to be recognized that in India, China and even Africa old indigenous civilizations of great value and deep spiritual life were opposing the missionaries and that the question was to bring about a synthesis of both civilizations, preserving the valuable and sustaining elements of the native civilizations and rendering them still more serviceable. The reaction of the East forced the West to a serious reconsideration of its position. The Christianity that was preached was put to the test among the peoples and individuals who confessed it and were in duty bound to live in accordance with it. The conviction arose that Christianity as it was lived fell short of the Christian doctrine that was preached, and that it was frequently associated with ideas entirely foreign to it—with nationalism, race pride, imperialism and approbation of war; and with this perception grew the determination to emphasize the principles of the Gospel in life and apply them to the problems of nationalism, race conflicts and capitalism. The growing unity of mankind led the missionary congress to recognize and proclaim

that Christian missionary work can find just as rich a field of application in Europe and America, where the people are given over—even more than in the East—to the idols of nationalism, the doctrine of militarism and the worship of money, as in Africa or Asia. The congress expressly declared that missions were on no account permitted to ask of their governments an armed defense of their life or property, and that they desired to identify themselves with the people of the country in which they were carrying on their work. The task of the mission does not so much lie in the teaching of a creed or a dogma, but in the development of human personality and of the idea of the unity of the human race and its brotherly work for the coming of the Kingdom of God. The awakened East makes greater demands on the moral and spiritual representation of the West and, in so doing, compels the West to make greater demands on itself, so that their approach on a common spiritual ground renders possible a spiritual competition. The Orient is preparing for this by renewing and reorganizing its fundamentals of public instruction.

(*To be continued*)

THE PATH OF HISTORY

by

PAUL HINNER

THE EPOCH OF ANCIENT ROMAN CIVILIZATION

AT the time of the foundation of Rome, which is supposed to have taken place about the year 753 B. C., the art of writing was but little known and practised and written records about the event are not available. Legend tells of two brothers who were mothered and nursed by a wolf near the location of the present city of Rome and that one of these brothers with his adherents, established the first settlement which later became the center of the mighty epoch of civilization commonly termed the Empire of Ancient Rome. History knows nothing of the aspirations and ideals which caused those early settlers to band together and set themselves apart from other men. The motive seems to have been of a religious and political nature inspired by Greek influences, because the religion of Rome resembled the Greek religion and was closely interwoven with the state. The tenant of the highest political office was also the highest priest and the service of the gods was a government function. The Roman religion depicted the prevailing conception of life in symbolic form. Jupiter governed the world with the aid of a number of subordinate gods and dominated through them all functions of life. The organization of the religious institutions so as to cover all human activities, the building of many costly temples for the gods and the regular offerings of sacrifices reveal the fact that the people of Rome during the formative period of their civilization were governed mainly by spiritual interests and that religion was the most influential force

in their community. In consequence, the ideal state of life, as depicted by religion, was reproduced in the structure of the political government as well as in that of the smallest unit of society. The political head ruled with the aid of the senate, through appointed or elected officials, all people subject to Roman authority. In like manner did the Roman citizen with his family dominate with absolute authority the numerous members of his household. The outward growth of Rome was rapid, because during the first centuries of the era, the policy of merely claiming the right to regulate the foreign affairs of the subject people, but interfering very little in their internal affairs, was strictly observed. These high ideals made the young civilization invincible in the conflict with Carthage, a remnant of the old Phœnician epoch. The Roman citizens followed the call to arms and bore all burdens of the wars without hesitation, because they knew that defeat meant not only loss of their independence, but also denial of their historic rule. The vast majority of the subject people, having been favorably impressed by the Roman principle of government remained loyal and the many successes of Hannibal could not subdue the rising power, but served in the end to strengthen its inner structure.

Parallel with the growth of the body, Rome developed the organs which were necessary to fulfill the functions of existence: The organization of the government for the attention to religious and political affairs, the army and navy for the application of the ideal and the defense of the country, the means of transportation and communication, the currency and many others. Slavery was the foundation of the economic organs. In the beginning of the era, each citizen had the undisputed right to punish his slaves at will and even to kill them, if he so desired. Through the progressive development of the conception of justice this right was gradually curtailed and the status of the slaves considerably improved, but the institution of slavery was retained, because without it the process of the development of human affairs would have become stagnant. It was an institution which corresponded with conditions in general and which had not yet outlived its usefulness. However, through the expansion of justice and through the practice which

grew up in Rome to reward faithful slaves by giving them their freedom, the level of slavery was raised above the previous state of hopelessness.

In the course of time Rome conquered all countries bordering on the Mediterranean and annexed them to the state as provinces. In the period of decline in consequence of the growing selfishness and love of material possessions in the ruling class, the subject people were ruled with ferocious severity and exploited without mercy; but nevertheless they derived many lasting benefits from their connection with Rome. Their leaders became acquainted with the advantages of an organized state, the Roman law served them later as a model for the administration of justice; their language was enriched through new words and forms of expression and their cultural progress was stimulated through the ideas expressed in Roman literature.

Throughout life, Rome suffered frequently from interior disturbances. These were caused by selfish efforts of groups of individuals which were contrary to the natural development of the epoch. At first these disorders were comparatively insignificant and appeared as minor disturbances in the functions of the political and economic organs; with increasing age, however, they became chronic and took the form of violent civil wars. At the time of the beginning of the present era, the forerunners of the civilization which was destined to become Rome's successor, made their appearance: "The first Christians." At that time a very large part of the Roman population consisted of slaves and individuals who were barred from citizenship. These classes led a most wretched life and were eager for an improvement of their condition. They greeted the Christian doctrine with rejoicing because they felt instinctively that the belief in a just God, before whom all men were equal, and who not only gave every individual the right, but made it his duty to strive for salvation, would lift them out of their misery and give all men equal rights. The rapid growth of Christianity in the decaying Rome was due to the fact that the new religion expressed the ideals of the oppressed classes in a form which was commensurable to their mental level. It bound the masses to-

gether to a living unit, true to the order according to which in the uninterrupted progress of human affairs, the dissolution of an old civilization carries with it the birth of its successor.

During the 3rd and 4th centuries of the present era the infirmities of age began to reveal themselves in the Roman epoch. The religion did not conform any more with the increased knowledge and the service of the gods became an empty ritual. The high ideals gave way to materialistic desires and the efforts to promote their selfish interests predominated in the affairs of the individuals. The strict moral principles and the sense of duty towards the state became burdensome and were discarded. A luxurious frivolous life displaced the old simple way of living and weakened especially the ruling class. The organs of the state were developed far beyond the measure of necessity and the larger part of the nation's energy was spent to maintain them. Simultaneously with the development of the individualistic ideals in the form of the Christian religion within the body of Rome, began the aggression of the Germanic tribes from the outside. It is a peculiarity in the history of Rome, that despite many determined efforts, the people which lived in the countries between the Rhine and the upper reaches of the Danube, the Germans, remained unconquered. Those were the people who were destined to reinvigorate the European parts of the Roman epoch for the development of a new civilization and who therefore had to be preserved from Roman penetration. The dissolute and enfeebled Rome could not overcome the many difficulties which arose out of the great migration of races. East and West of the Empire drew apart and the epoch fell into dissolution in the 5th century of the present era. The Western Part was divided into new states by the conquering Germanic tribes. The Eastern Part maintained a sham existence for several centuries and was finally absorbed by the Mohammedan branch of the new individualistic civilization. With the decline of Rome her religion fell into oblivion and the material luxuries in which the wealthy classes had indulged, sank to the level of mere curiosities, but the spiritual fruits of the epoch, which were embodied in language, literature, law and art became the heritage of her successor.

The circumstances surrounding the birth and growth, the development of the different organs suitable to the purpose of the epoch and the decline and death, demonstrated that Rome was a living organic being with a virile body and a high mentality, endowed with noble aspirations but also burdened with mortal infirmities. However, despite all greatness and intelligence the epoch could not escape the ultimate fate of all forms of life: "Death and dissolution" because as an organic entity it was subject to the laws through which nature effects the birth and death of all living beings in the ceaseless flow of the great process of life which animates the universe. During the period of ascendency the human components were dominated by spiritual interests and imbued with unselfish devotion to high ideals, while in the decline and dissolution the people dissipated the strength and vitality of their civilization in materialistic desires and selfish efforts. However, Rome was the logical continuation of the development of human affairs, after the Greek civilization, and demonstrated that through a forceful application of an ideal, different parts of the human race could be successfully combined to a mighty living unit for an elevation of the level of culture and well-being. *The rule of Rome by the power of the sword on the scale practised was relative to the state of the embraced human material and to the conditions of life prevailing on the planet Earth at that time.*

(*To be continued*)

THE NOVEL OF THE WAR YEARS

by

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V

ROBERT Louis Stevenson declares that works of fiction "are the most influential books and the truest in their inflence, since instead of pinning a reader to dogma or teaching him a lesson which he must afterwards unlearn, they repeat, rearrange, and clarify the lessons of life." The remaining works of fiction, chosen for discussion under the classification of the War Years, attempt to perform just such a function for the lessons of the war. They repeat, rearrange and attempt to clarify, in several instances, that immense event of 1914-1918. Of the group of British writers under this head H. G. Wells comes first in point of time with his *Mr. Britling Sees It Through* (September, 1916). *Clérambault—l'Histoire d'une Conscience libre pendant la Guerre* (1920), by Romain Rolland is the nearest in point of time and material to the first named work. They call for comparison and discussion together, since both books describe the development "not of a man but of an ideal." This development takes place under the stress of great personal suffering of two men through the loss of the dearest possession they had in life—their sons.

Mr. Britling Sees It Through opens with a description of the comfortable easy life of the main character Mr. Britling on his country estate at Matching's Easy, Essex. He is a successful writer, a man of the world, living life rather heedlessly, and having a formless optimism. The one emotion that strikes deep with him is his love for his son, Hugh, the only child of his first wife, who died at Hugh's birth. We see the family life: Hugh with his stepmother

and younger brothers, and the German tutor Karl Heinrich, about Hugh's age, lovable and most intelligent. Music is his avocation, and many evenings he delights the family with his violin playing.

Into this carefree atmosphere obtrudes the War, but Mr. Britling is not too much disturbed. He thinks that it cannot be of long duration. Gradually as the weeks go by war presses in upon his thought until it becomes his life, linked as it is now with Hugh who has enlisted and is in training. The young Karl had left upon War's declaration for his own home in the Black Forest and was now in the German Army, undergoing the same monotonous life as was Hugh in the British camps. From optimism Mr. Britling passes by slow stages to anxious doubt. As a writer and public man he has much newspaper work and sits at his desk by day and night writing articles concerning the War and the prospects of its end. Then Hugh comes to say goodbye before going to France. As he talks to his father the last night before his departure, he warns him that he will come back, if he does come back, a very different person.

"I'm going where death is everywhere. We shall be using our utmost wits to kill each other . . . *This* Hugh will never come back. Another one may . . . it will all be different."

Hugh does not come back. An official notice from the War Office gives the final news, and in the agony of lonely suffering Mr. Britling tries to struggle through to some kind of philosophy of hope. Through a friendly go-between in Norway, he hears that Karl Heinrich has also died in a Russian prison-camp, from untended wounds; and the final passage of the book is given through the medium of a letter which Mr. Britling attempts to write to the bereaved parents of Karl. The excuse for the letter is the return of Karl's violin: Says Mr. Britling: "I am sending his violin, which he had asked me thrice to convey to you. Either it is a gift from you or it symbolized many things for him that he connected with home and you. I will have it packed with particular care, and I will do all in my power to ensure its safe arrival."

It was evening when he began the letter. He found himself trying over and over again to express his thoughts and emotions

in such a way that a sympathy and comfort would reach the two old lonely people in the enemy land. He found himself lost frequently in meditation upon the two boys who had come to such an untimely end, on opposite sides in the War. He tells the mother and father of Karl's great plans for the "perfection and propagation of Esperanto or Ido, or some such universal link" in language. He recalls the glowing descriptions Karl would make to him of this special intellectual venture and how it would aid in the bringing about of world understanding and peace. Beside the German boy's dream of accomplishment he saw that of his son Hugh, who was an enthusiastic student of science and believed as fervently that science would bring future world cooperation instead of the present dangerous competition.

After hours of such meditation and effort, he completes his letter. It becomes a plea not only to Karl's parents but to the parents of all sons everywhere. In it he says: "If you think that these two boys have both perished, not in some noble common cause but one against the other in a struggle of dynasties and boundaries and trade routes and tyrannous ascendancies, then it seems to me that you must feel as I feel that this war is the most tragic and dreadful thing that has ever happened to mankind." And then he wanders on to discuss their common misery and to make indictment against war, until he finds some hope in the gleams of light that these same lost sons have left upon their pathway. They must not die in vain; fathers in every country must pledge themselves to carry out the purpose for which these boys and so many millions of other boys died. He asks the causes of the war, the results, and what the future holds in store for humanity. He concludes that nothing is to be gained on the part of any country by war and cries out: "It is you and I who must stop these wars, these massacres of boys.

"Massacres of boys! That indeed is the essence of modern war. The killing off of the young. It is the destruction of the human inheritance, it is the spending of all the life and material of the future upon present-day hate and greed."

After much more philosophy concerning the diplomatic mis-

takes and governmental confusion in the warring countries, he ends with an appeal: "Let us make ourselves watchers and guardians of the order of the world. . . . If only for love of our dead. . . . Let us pledge ourselves to service. Let us set ourselves with all our minds and all our hearts to the perfecting and working out of the methods of democracy. . . ." And his final word is of "Our sons who have shown us God."

Romain Rolland's *Agenor Clérambault* is also an author, a popular writer who has won the ribbon of the Legion of Honor and sees nothing but brightness for the future. Then war comes upon the world. Even war's advent seemed to bring increased good fortune for a time. Like Mr. Britling, M. Clérambault's writing was much in demand for newspapers and magazines. Like Mr. Britling also, he was an enthusiastic patriot, believing wholeheartedly in his country's cause and in a quick and happy termination of war. He was so stirred by his emotional enthusiasms that his facile pen turned out many popular war-songs that became national favorites and raised him to even a higher degree of popularity. In the midst of this rejuvenation and success his young son Maxime enlists for active service at the front. In spite of anxiety concerning the boy's safety, the father keeps the optimism of mediocre minds and refuses to think that any catastrophe can befall him. When Maxime has his first brief leave of seven days, the father's joy and pride are almost boisterous. He greets the boy with the cry: "Vous en tuez aussi d'autres?" Maxime is startled and hastily replies: "Non, non, parlons d'autre chose . . . . Voulez-vous me faire un plaisir? Ne me questionnez plus aujourd'hui."

The father is surprised and uncomprehending, but the boy's request is granted. Throughout his brief stay, he manages to evade serious questioning on the part of any of the family and friends. They wonder a bit at his aloofness, but the time is short and so they leave him undisturbed. The boy is reluctant to hurt his father, to dampen his patriotic enthusiasm, to disillusion him concerning the glory of battle.

Finally, as he is about to leave again for the front, he starts to question his father: "Papa, es-tu bien sûr?" They are waiting at

the station. Maxime had entered the train and seemed suddenly to have the feeling that he must have some understanding with his parent before going out to face death again. But the pain and wonder on Clérambault's face stopped the boy's flow of words. "Il eut pitié, il demanda si son père était bien sûr de l'heure du départ." And with such an easy reassuring they part for the last time. As the boy looks out upon the people on the station platform from his moving train, "Si on voyait! pensait Maxime, si ces gens voyaient! . . . Toute leur société craquerait . . . Mais ils ne verront jamais, ils ne veulent pas voir . . . . Ca va durer, ça dure! . . . Une moitié de l'humanité mange l'autre."

Like young Hugh Britling, Maxime feels the brutality and futility of the war. He suffers from a sense of supreme isolation and despair, and cries out in his soul: " 'Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu! Pourquoi nous avez-vous abandonnés?' . . . . Et les plus meurtriers n'étaient pas les canons. Mais les Idées. Penché à la fenêtre du wagon qui partait, il suivait du regard les visages émus des scènes qui s'éloignaient, et il pensait: 'Pauvres gens! Vous êtes leurs victimes! Et nous sommes les vôtres!' "

Shortly after his brief leave, Maxime is killed in battle. When Clérambault receives the news, his memory is stabbed by the thought of his son's last hesitant question. For many days and sleepless nights he ponders over the vast problems presented by the war, especially the ethical ones. Like Mr. Britling, his mind is tempered and made finer through suffering. Also his placid acceptance of conventional beliefs and loyalties drops away. Not only is he afflicted by the loss of his son, but tormented by the thought of that son's suffering in his young isolation. And now his pen takes on new power. In travail of soul he writes his great appeal which is addressed to all fathers, his appeal, which he calls, *"O Morts, pardonnez-nous!"* This appeal takes the form of David's Lament to Absalom, almost a blend of music and poetry in its high emotion: "J'avais un fils. Je l'aimais. Je l'ai tué. Pères de l'Europe en deuil, ce n'est pas pour moi seul, c'est pour vous que je parle, millions de pères veufs de vos fils, ennemis ou amis, tous couverts de leur sang, comme moi. C'est vous tous que parlez, par la voix

d'un des vôtres, ma misérable voix qui souffre et se repent."

Its publication rouses much adverse criticism. Gradually the changed condition of Clérambault, his unhappy questioning attitude, his suffering, his lack of pride in the death of his son for the cause excite unfriendliness on the part of his one-time admiring public. He seeks solace among his friends. While many of them agree with him, they refuse to implicate themselves by any statement that would bring an accusation of lack of full patriotic loyalty including hatred of the enemy. There is no longer a market for Clérambault's writing. Neither he nor his work is wanted anywhere. The accusation of "defeatist" is flung at him from every side. His wife and daughter are compelled to suffer with him. They do not comprehend his views, but hold to him through sympathetic affection. Clérambault had tried to live since the writing of his great letter of appeal, according to the philosophy he had expressed in it: "Est-ce pour nous que se livrent ces combats entre Etats, ce brigandage de l'universe? De quoi avons-nous besoin? . . . Et qui donc d'entre nous, frères du monde, est jaloux pour les autres de ce juste bonheur, voudrait le leur voler? Qu'avons-nous à faire de ces ambitions, de ces rivalités, de ces cupidités, de ces maladies d'esprit, que des blasphémateurs, couvrent du nom de patrie? La patrie, c'est vous, pères. La patrie, c'est nos fils. Tous nos fils. Sauvons-les!"

Finally Clérambault is prosecuted on the charge of disloyalty. While the trial is in progress, he is shot by a fanatical patriot who considers him a menace to the cause of France.

He had won his struggle for ever and died a free spirit, living in sincerity his philosophy of hope in world betterment in the centuries to come: "Cent fois la flamme se rallume et s'éteint avant de rester allumée. Chaque Christ, chaque Dieu' s'est essayé à l'avance par une série de précurseurs. Ils sont partout perdus, isolés dans l'espace, isolés dans les siècles. Mais ces solitaires, qui ne se connaissent pas voient tous à l'horizon le même point lumineux. Le regard du Sauveur. Il vient."

He died hating none, understanding all: "Clérambault goutait la paix des mondes d'avenir."

The philosophy of these two bereaved fathers—M. Clérambault and Mr. Britling—is evidently the philosophy that the authors wish to present concerning the war years. Neither of them was a combatant. Both are giving something of their own personal anxieties and moral anguish of the war years. It has been suggested that M. Rolland may have had the great Jean Jaurès in mind when he had his Clérambault assassinated, Jaurès having been shot in the back by a fanatic on the eve of the War. M. Rolland himself understood something of the suffering of a "free conscience" in time of war. We shall see more expression of this thought in his group of essays—*Au-dessus de la Mêlée.* His was one of the clearest voices among the peoples of all countries who, amid the tumult of herd instinct, called for reconciliation instead of hatred. Mr. Wells, while pinning his faith more to scientific organization and the advance of progressive thinking through progressive science teaching, has not faltered in the development of the philosophy of Mr. Britling's letter. In his more recent book *The Undying Fire,* he presents a hero, Job Huss, who resembles Clérambault even more than he does Mr. Britling.

THIS PRAYING WORLD

by

JOHN WILLIAM KITCHING
Author of "Azrubaal and Lamorna," etc.

V

CHINA

"All the numerous tribes of animated beings are indebted to Thy favor for their beginning. Men and creatures are emparadised, O Ti (Lord) in Thy love. All living things are indebted to Thy goodness, but who knows when his blessing comes to him? It is Thou alone, O Lord, who art the true parent of all things. . . The service of song is completed but our poor sincerity cannot be fully expressed. Sovereign goodness is infinite. As a potter Thou hast made all living things. Great and small are curtained round. As engraven on the heart of Thy poor servant is the sense of Thy goodness, but my feeling cannot be fully displayed. With great kindness Thou dost bear with us, and not withstanding our demerits dost grant us life and prosperity." (Nelson Britton, "The Regeneration of New China," London, 1914, Ch. iii).

The above prayer was used by the Ming emperors at the solstice worship of Shang Ti.

The idea of prayer permeates the whole religious life of China. The spirit in which prayer is offered is considered by the Chinese to be of the utmost importance.

The master (Confucius) said: "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles," and the spirit in which prayer is offered must be a sincere one. Some amount of ceremony is generally observed with prayer in China. Offerings of meats and vegetables are often presented and cups of wine, wax candles are lighted and

incense stick and mock paper money burned. The attitude taken is typical of reverence. Kneeling mats are provided in temples for the worshipers who not only kneel but often touch the ground with their foreheads and perform the Kowtow. If weak and unable to kneel, the worshiper is told in pious books that he may stand. In prayer the hands are laid palm to palm with extended fingers and raised up and down several times.

Confucius is the Latinized form of the Chinese Kung-fu-tze, the Master Kung. He was born about the year 551 B.C. and died 478 B.C. Confucius is the most famous of all the sages of China. His birthplace was in the State of Lu in the province which is now called "Shan-tung," where his descendant of the seventy-sixth generation is now living. The times in which Confucius was born were marked by constant wars. The soldier was in the ascendant, the schoolmaster was unemployed. Agriculture languished for lack of manual labor and plague, pestilence and famine wrought untold horrors upon the feudal Kingdoms.

Confucius married at the age of eighteen and at the age of twenty was given a public office as grain distributor, by the duke of the State of Lu. In personal appearance the philosopher was a heavy, ungainly man, but even in early youth he seems to have had a strong predilection for courteous and ceremonious manners. He lost his mother at the age of twenty-four, and had to retire for three nominal years (twenty-seven months) from the public service.

By the time Confucius was thirty, he had formulated the tenets of his philosophy. In 517 he gained his first pupils of importance. At last after many years, his moral worth received its reward and at the age of 52, he was appointed Governor of Chung-tu. Through the machinations of the Governor of Tsi, who was afraid that the wise counsels of the sage would make the State of Lu supreme in China, the influence of the master in Lu was so weakened that he left the country after 4 years, being at that time 56 years of age. For 13 years he wandered from place to place and did not return to Lu until in his sixty-ninth year. His last years were full of sorrow, marked by the death of his son and his two best-loved disciples, Yen Hui and Tsz' Lu. He died in the year 478 saddened by

the fear lest he had failed in his mission. Confucius was not a reformer, but a conserver, as is strikingly shown in his services to literature. He established the canon of four of the "five classics" the Shih Ching or Book of Poems; the Li Ching or Book of Rites; the I Ching or Book of Changes; and the Shu Ching or Book of Historical Documents.

VI

Egypt

"Thy dawning, O Living Aton, is beautiful on the horizon.
O, Beginning of Life, Thou art all, and Thy rays encompass all.
Manifold are Thy works, One and Only God, whose power none other possesseth; the whole earth hast Thou created according to Thine own understanding.
When Thou wast alone didst Thou create man and beast, both large and small; all that go upon their feet, all that fly on wings; yea, and all the foreign lands, even Syria and Kush besides this land of Egypt. Thou settest all in their place, and providest all with their needs (though) diverse are their tongues, their forms, their skins.
O how goodly are Thy designs, O Lord, that there is a Nile in the sky for strangers and for cattle of every land. Thou art He who art in my soul; Thou art the life of life; Through Thee men live!"

Ikhnaton has not unjustly been called the first individual in human history. He ruled over the Egyptian empire about 1375 to 1450 B.C. Lewis Browne in "This Believing World" speaks of him in this wise:

"With amazing clarity of vision and singleness of purpose he set himself the task of making the religion of Egypt an absolute monotheism. He broke completely with the polytheistic past, denying all the favorite old gods and suppressing their cults. Only Aton, the Sun-God, was recognized, and to Him every human knee was made to bend, and every tongue to give homage. The King gave up the name, Amonhotep, by which he had been known all

his life, simply because it contained the name of the old god, Amon. Instead he called himself Ikhnaton, which meant, 'Spirit of Aton.'

"Because his old capital was the center of Amon worship, the King gave that up too. He built himself an entirely new city, calling it Akhetaton, meaning 'Horizon of Aton.' He tried to revolutionize every phase of Egyptian life, spurning all the old conventions and creating by fiats even a new art and literature! Of course the priests of the fallen gods fought him bitterly; but they could do little for the power of Ikhnaton was absolute in all his empire. He sent stone masons all through Egypt to erase the names of the old gods from the temples and pyramids. He caused even his own father's name to be obliterated because it contained the name of Amon!

"In his new capital he built a splendid temple to his One God, Aton, adoring him with sumptuous sacrifices and with hymns of surpassing beauty.

"When Ikhnaton died, Aton also died. The priests of Amon and Re and the other old gods quickly came into their own again, setting up their old altars, and chanting their old spells. The very son-in-law of the man who so zealously altered his name from Amonhotep to Ikhnaton thought it wise to change his own name from Tutenkhaton back to Tutenkhamen. Once more Thebes was made the capital and its priesthood waxed fat with might. The high-priests grew more powerful year by year, and in the end one of them actually seized the crown! Thus was all the labor of that royal heretic, Ikhnaton, made to come to naught."

NATIONALISM AND REASON

by

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NORMAN ANGELL is famous as the author of the most dramatic "I told you so!" in our times. In 1910 he proved conclusively by reason that under our world-economy warfare can bring only disaster to victor and vanquished alike. Four years later the world obligingly set out to prove him right by experience as well. The subsequent course of events has naturally confirmed his strong faith in reason; but it has also raised the insistent question, Why do men rarely listen to reason? Not only is there no indication that men have learned the lesson which both Mr. Angell and the Great War have so clearly offered them; crowning irony of all, they failed signally to understand the reiterated thesis of *The Great Illusion,* and laughed at its author for proving by reason the impossibility of war, instead of at themselves for needlessly proving with blood and iron its futility. Reason is simple; reason is clear; and reason is available to every man. What then are the Unseen Assasins that slay it in men's minds, and how are they to be brought to justice? Hence Mr. Angell's latest book* deals with the problem of making the world safe for reason.

Sir Ralph Norman Angell Lane is an unabashed and unreconstructed liberal. He is a liberal of the great tradition: he believes, that is, in appealing to the reason of the average man, and he believes there is a reason there to appeal to. He believes in democracy, and no matter what the form of government, he believes in the force of Public Opinion. He has little patience with pleas for a new spirit of goodwill; it is above all enlightened self-interest in which he puts his faith. Spiritual values and immaterial things con-

* Norman Angell, *The Unseen Assassins.* Harpers. 349 pp. $3.

fuse reason and make the mind prone to fallacies; whereas an enlightened regard for their own concrete welfare will lead men to make war impossible. A proper education would cause the light of reason to shine for every man. At present, alas, men are a prey to illusions, fallacies, and intellectual assassins. Everywhere statesmen are wiser than the public opinion they must follow; they are held back by a popular nationalism and chauvinism that increases with economic misery. "It is easier to see how these things arise," Mr. Angell remarks, "than how to prevent them."

He is fully aware that in our world he will be regarded as an 18th century intellectualist. There is much in his thought that bears out this self-characterization. Men should be taught "the necessary mechanism of society, the almost mechanical principles by which alone some smoothness of working may be achieved." Many of the worst difficulties of the world could be avoided by observing "almost self-evident social principles." And his statement of the ultimate cause of war, that when nations get into a dispute each side believes itself entitled to be the judge of its own rights, is in the very language of John Locke; while his remedy, the setting up of an impartial judge of those rights by a social contract between nations, is but the logical conclusion to which 18th century liberals did *not* advance.

Yet Mr. Angell is fully aware of our contemporary world, if he does not share its facile intellectual enthusiasms. And so he sets out to explore the conditions under which the Gospel of Reason can be made valid for today. It may be a false gospel; but no one else has preached it so persuasively. And it has this advantage over our current Gospel of Intelligence, of expert planning and social control through immense intellectual effort, that it is simple, clear, and luminous. It is too much to expect John Smith to possess the intelligence to plan and direct a world organization; we have doubts even of John Dewey or Charles Beard. But if only in spite of everything we could get John Smith to be reasonable—Hope springs eternal! Commonsense may not be able to patch up our creaking economic system, but it does seem as though it ought to make war impossible!

For it is upon John Smith's willingness to follow a policy that must lead to war that the coming of war ultimately depends. "Such evils as war are not imposed upon us against our will or our desire by small minorities or vested interests. Such minorities, to achieve their ends, must first make their will or desire that of the mass of men. It is that will of the ordinary man, however created, which remains the determining factor." Every modern policy rests upon public opinion; dictators are the greatest demagogues of all. And no matter how subtle the propaganda, how insidious the "education," its success depends upon John Smith's allowing himself to be misled by it. Other students of the problem of war have tried to begin with the minorities and the vested interests who corrupt John Smith; Mr. Angell goes straight to John Smith himself. John Smith hates war; but he does not see that the course to which he allows himself to be committed with enthusiasm must lead to it. Teach him a few simple and self-evident truths about modern society, and he will be immune to all propaganda preparing a clash of arms.

"Popular feeling has come, perhaps, to hate war as much doubtless as the populace hated plagues, but the relation between its prevention and the observance of the rules necessary thereto is as little realized in any vivid sense, as were, in medieval times, the principles of sanitation. . . The mass of folk simply do not see the relation between a given attitude or policy and its inevitable outcome in war, nor the fact that manifestation of certain tempers will inevitably provoke similar tempers in neighbors and in the end produce war."

The trouble with John Smith is that we have tried to make him learned, instead of shrewd. Mr. Angell gives a most amusing picture of poor John in his desire for peace, attending lectures and study classes in everything from the economic causes of the Serbo-Bulgarian War of 1885 to the philosophy of Fitche, from the International Drug Traffic to the Constitutional Law of Iraq. The implication of organized education seems to be that unless you know all the facts you cannot be wise; whereas Mr. Angell suspects that too much learning is the death of wisdom. The reason John Smith

needs is not specialized knowledge, which is ever the conservative foe of change and commonsense reform. Men used to fight about theological subtleties, enthusiastically egged on by the erudite theologian. What made those religious wars and massacres possible was a popular attitude; and what abolished them was a reform imposed on the church, not by its experts, but by the laity. "It was not the very learned (and very sincere) inquisitor who saw most clearly the essential truth, but the less learned layman whom the inquisitor would have suppressed. Reform came not from erudition but from simplification, on the clearing up of confusion." Similarly, the mass of men will never know enough to solve the complex problems facing us, say, in the Balkans. But Sarajevo would never have set off a conflagration had the mass of men been aware of "a few simple facts in political relationships."

And thus John Smith faces the fundamental problem of liberal democratic government, the relation of the layman to the expert. "The layman cannot be governed by experts; but he cannot govern without them. The layman must decide what he wants, must know enough not to want contradictory things, and must employ the expert for providing the technical means of attainment." John Smith must learn certain fundamental principles of international policy, leaving details to the expert, just as though ignorant of medical skill, he has learned that diseases are transmitted by microorganisms, and has thus abolished the plagues of the past. It is exactly this fundamental ability that our education fails to give. "Our education must aim more at enabling the citizen to be, not an expert in fifty subjects, but capable of using the expert's knowledge: it must aim, not at giving him the 'facts' of every conceivable problem, but a technique, a skill by which he can, first of all, become conscious of what the problem is—what it is he wants (which, generally, he seldom asks himself), a skill which will help him in pitching upon the essential issues, where experts differ and why; in deciding what facts are relevant; and how he can use experts or specialists to give him the facts which he has not time to establish for himself." In a word, John Smith must be educated to be an Al Smith.

Mr. Angell likes to use the analogy of the layman consulting the medical expert about an operation. The layman must make the final decisions himself; yet he must be as shrewd as possible about it. What he needs is a technique of interpretation of evidence, of facts furnished by others. He must realize his own ignorance; he must be able to use certain tests and tools to judge how far the opinions of experts are trustworthy; and he must be on his guard against those temperamental twists of mind that so often vitiate the judgment of the learned specialist. Such a technique of interpreting evidence should be the first object of all education; instead, the student is swamped with meaningless facts. Medicine makes clear another basic principle also. "The knowledge which, if used, would enable us to avoid infectious disease is simple, available to all. The knowledge necessary to cure the disease once we've got it, is vast, complex, difficult, uncertain; beyond Mr. John Smith; perhaps beyond anyone." And war is just such a social disease.

The knowledge necessary to avoid war is therefore simple and clear. It is not a complicated knowledge of history, nor yet a profound acquaintance with other peoples; indeed, the bitterest conflicts, in India or Ireland, are often between communities that live in the same street. It is rather the understanding of the necessary principles of just and peaceful human relationships. As these would be self-evident were it not for the unseen assassins that slay them, and as they are self-evident to the thoughtful, if not the educated, today, there is no need to dwell on them. The basis of all society is the assumption that it is better to combine to fight nature than to fight each other. This principle is clear within nations; yet John Smith, who knows that within the state there must be a mechanism of government, finds anarchy a natural and feasible method between states.

He fails to generalize from his own social experience because of certain root fallocies that must be eradicated. Chief is the notion that because a nation is a corporate entity with a corporate loyalty, *therefore* each nation should be a sovereign and independent state, a law unto itself, with complete liberty to do what it wants and insist on its own interpretation of its rights. "It is not the existence

of nations, or the fact of nationality, which is the cause of war. War is due to the fact that we have attached to nationality the idea of independence and sovereignty: sovereignty and the anarchy which it necessarily implies make war." The society of nations must have an international sovereign. Men go to war to secure their rights, to prevent another nation from exercising the right they claim exclusively for themselves, to be the judge of what their rights are. War arises from a collision of two rights, in which both sides insist they are entitled to be the judge of the dispute. It is an impossible situation: international society must have an impartial judge. It must have third-party judgment of disputes, and an accepted code of reciprocal rights, a body of practice to constitute the law of the world. Incidentally, it is in the failure of the Kellogg Pact to provide any means of determining impartially what constitutes self-defense that Mr. Angell sees its gravest defect.

Like a true liberal, Mr. Angell finds the root of war in the faulty education of John Smith. The remedy is to dispel his fallacies and teach him the simple principles of social organization. This is certainly one way of attacking the problem. Yet the adequacy of this Gospel of Reason can be seriously questioned. Is the education of John Smith as simple a matter as the rationalist assumes? And can John Smith's education be changed, can, that is, his nationalistic fallacies be eradicated, without attacking the problem of social organization within the state? It is on these points that the Gospel of Intelligence and the Gospel of Socialism challenge the liberal Gospel of Reason.

To the latter problem Mr. Angell has a definite answer. War can be abolished by the enlightened self-interest of even a capitalistic world. For war rests on the nationalistic attitude of the common man. "Nationalism was not made by capitalism or financiers or other powerful interests (who would be better off and more powerful if Europe were politically like the United States), nor by diplomatists, though all may in some degree exploit nationalism. In so far as the capitalists and statesmen do exploit it, they are able to do so just because the appeals to national prejudice, mistrust of foreigners, jingo passion, find readier response than do other pub-

lic appeals whatsoever." Nor is there any reason to think that a group of socialistic states would be any less nationalistic and warlike than capitalist nations. The problem of nationalism must be attacked in its own terms.

Mr. Angell is not so clear, however, in his appeal to self-evident principles of social organization. When in the second half of his book he turns to the problems of the relation of the British Empire to world society, and to international economic competition, the solution does not appear to him so easy, nor do his own principles seem so self-evident. "What the reciprocal rights and obligations of the nations should be is not an easy problem to solve." The common liberal opposition to Imperialism involves "an attitude implying a gross over-simplification of the real problem of modern statecraft. . . Absolute principles are reduced to absurdity in this question by the facts of history."

Mr. Angell starts from the self-evident principle that "Absolute self-determination, or sovereignty, or independence, is incompatible with civilization." The remedy for imperialism is not nationalism, but internationalism. He then goes on to a defence of the British Empire, especially in India. He takes his stand on the highest ground. "In a world which needs above all integration there is an obligation on the part of those who form part of any social organization which may have arisen out of the stresses of history not to break that tie." We cannot afford to sacrifice any inter-State organization that exists. Therefore why cannot England and India cooperate, and why cannot Indians abandon the "high-sounding slogans" and the "simple principles" of Victorian radicalism which they are belatedly adopting, to the effect that good government can never be a substitute for self-government? Why can they not see that things are more complex?

These are important arguments, though to non-British opinion they may seem to lack cogency. The point is that in appealing to the complicated facts of history, which have given Britain undoubted rights in India, Mr. Angell has abandoned self-evidence and simplicity, and has laid himself open to the query, Why can he not see that that same history, which he so skilfully analyzes—he

knows perfectly well why Indians hate Englishmen—has made world cooperation easier for India through almost any other channel than the Empire? Reason may not suggest it, but experience proves that at a certain stage of imperial rule no amount of concession or "partnership" will suffice. Mr. Angell has here appealed not to reason, but to experience, and experience lays pitfalls for the seeker after self-evidence.

Or take his treatment of Palestine. The trouble there too, he finds, is that British administrators have treated their problem as a simple one of social organization, as a dispute between rival groups in an Asiatic province, with an obligation on the part of the minority therein to cede to the claims of the majority. That was self-evident. But, says Mr. Angell, they did not realize they were dealing with a world-problem entangled in ancient feuds and age-old offences. What has then become of his "simple principles?"

No, Mr. Angell himself shows that the appeal to simple and self-evident principles is not the way out. Social organization, once it deals with concrete problems, is terribly complex. It demands the most exacting knowledge and intelligence, not the facile rationalism of historic liberal thought. The Gospel of Reason is not enough. It is true that the outcome of experience and tested thought should be made available for the common man. It is true that he should be made as shrewd and skilful as possible in using the results of expert knowledge, though there is doubt that every John Smith can be turned by proper education into an Al Smith. It is true that expert specialists develop strange quirks, and are hardly safe uncontrolled. But there can be no disparagement of the need for detailed knowledge, for careful planning, for intelligence. The public must be made to see the folly of nationalistic fallacies; but that is neither the beginning nor the end. It is not the beginning, for the reform of public opinion is inextricably entangled with the reconstruction of the social organization within the state. It is not the end, for a shrewd public opinion must be guided by a painstaking working out of the enormous problem of constructing an international organization; it must be led, not by Reason, but by intelligence.

THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT

Current Plans and Activities

by

Russell M. Cooper

Graduate School, Columbia University

The Disarmament Conference, having successfully survived the spectacular proposals and disputes of the opening sessions, has now settled down to a routine of study and exhaustive deliberation. Popular interest naturally has subsided somewhat during these technical discussions, but the desire for eventual success is still very real, and peace organizations are bending every effort to maintain a constant pressure upon the delegates at Geneva for reduction. The prevailing international unrest only serves to redouble the insistence of peace leaders that the war machine be decisively shackled.

On Saturday, February sixth, the voice of the world was heard at Geneva. Nine speakers representing peace organizations of many countries presented petitions signed by nearly 10,000,000 persons demanding substantial reductions. Countless telegrams and letters poured in upon the delegates. In the entire history of international deliberation there probably has never been such massing of organized public opinion as now bears upon the delegates at Geneva. It is a popular mandate which they cannot ignore. It is a tribute to the growing demand for peace among the masses and to the tireless efforts of peace organizations everywhere.

In order to keep a spotlight of public opinion focussed constantly upon the Conference, thirteen leading women's organizations have formed a powerful lobby at Geneva. These organizations include such groups as the International Council of Women, the World Organization of Jewish Women, and the International

Y.W.C.A., and have a combined enrollment of 40,000,000 women in 46 different countries. Under the presidency of Miss Mary Dingman in Geneva, the lobby committee will be in constant touch with the delegates, will continually labor for great reduction, and will keep all its affiliated groups informed of the progress of the negotiations. In America, petitions and letters continue to press the government to take more active leadership. One of the recent petitions forwarded to President Hoover and Secretary Stimson was the Joint Youth Disarmament Petition, signed by 4,034 persons between the ages of 14 and 25, urging drastic reduction of armaments, and protesting against the use of youth as an instrument of war.

Despite all these mighty efforts for disarmament, however, the leaders of peace organizations are fully aware of the terrific obstacles to be overcome, and the very real possibility of failure. The prospect of a breakdown at Geneva confronts the leaders with something of a dilemma, upon which they differ considerably. Should they continue to exhort their followers to work with unrelenting vigor, encouraging them with the hope of success, and then in case of failure reap the harvest of bitter disillusionment? Or should they frankly admit the likelihood of defeat on the disarmament proposal and concentrate their peace efforts on more promising issues such as the World Court and Inter-Allied Debt?

This is a serious problem for many groups, but most of them are meeting it by steering a middle course. In the first place, most organizations contend that the outlook, though dark, is by no means hopeless, and that while any chance for success remains they dare not relax their efforts. A breakdown at Geneva would be so disastrous to world cooperation and peace that they must endeavor to forestall it at any cost. In the meantime, however, these groups are busy strengthening the spirit of internationalism at several other points.

On February 12, the League of Nations Association released a statement severely criticizing those isolationists who would have America act independently in the Chinese crisis instead of working through the League in full cooperation with the other Powers.

The statement declares that by initiating moves for settlement, the United States has become the object of the animosity of the military party in Japan, arousing bitterness and misunderstanding, and creating an actual threat to peace. It maintains that "by forcing on our government a policy inspired by an alleged fear of entangling alliances, the isolationist section of public opinion has put the government in an entangling situation far more dangerous than any alliance could ever be." Such is the sentiment of a great number of peace organizations in this country.

In a further endeavor to break down America's traditional "isolation," there is an increasing emphasis upon adherence to the World Court. At the annual meeting of the League of Nations Association held at Philadelphia, January 16, the members laid plans for a "whirlwind campaign" for World Court entry, which would include the sending to Washington of a large delegation to interview individual members of the Senate. The National World Court Committee and National Council for Prevention of War are among the numerous other organizations that are working for acceptance of the Court Protocol at this session of Congress.

In the meantime, the matter of military and naval appropriations is absorbing the attention of another section of the peace forces. The Committee on Militarism in Higher Education recently presented to the House Committee on Military Appropriations a petition signed by 340 college presidents, professors, and other educators, asking that Congress take the War Department out of the field of education. The educators charge that the R.O.T.C. and C.M.T.C. are now being promoted as general education in violation of the National Defense Act and the traditional American policy of leaving education to the state and local authorities. There is a reason to expect a sharp diminution in C.M.T.C. and R.O.T.C. appropriations in the new military budget.

The Congregational Church, Federal Council of Churches, and the American Society of Friends are among the church groups which have been most active in fighting the militaristic forces in America. Lieutenant Colonel Orvel Johnson, executive secretary of the Reserve Officers Training Corps Association, in a recent ad-

dress before the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, complimented the Federal Council of Churches by calling it the country's "greatest menace" to the Reserve Officers Training Corps. The military faction is bending every effort to secure an increased appropriation for "defense" at this session of Congress, and the battle promises to be fierce and close. The Women's International League has adopted an interesting form of protest in the shape of a sticker which it urges citizens to paste on their income tax reports. It reads, "That part of this income tax which is levied for preparation for War is paid only under Protest and and Duress." The device is proving quite popular.

A new and important addition to the peace forces in America is the World Peace Posters, Inc., 31 Union Square, New York City. Believing that pictorial posters are most effective in arousing public imagination and opinion, this organization has prepared a series of challenging peace stamps and posters which it distributes at cost to organizations all over the country. In the past eight months it has sent out 13,000 bulletin board and 2,200 bill board posters, besides 64,500 postcards and 1,200,000 peace stamps. Thus not only to the small, informed group which is constantly reading and working for reform, but also to the masses in the street there is brought home the challenge and importance of the peace ideal.

WORLD UNITY MEMORIAL

To DAVID STARR JORDAN

The name of David Starr Jordan has become associated with faith in the reality of world peace. His contribution to the peace ideal was made at the highest level of human achievement, through the power of a personality uniting scientific intelligence and spiritual aim. In his life and work an age striving to throw off the intolerable burden of organized conflict grew more conscious of its capacity for progress and more determined to attain the goal of cooperation and accord.

In order to give continuance to Dr. Jordan's vision and attitude, never more needed than in this period of confused purpose and ebbing courage, it is proposed by a number of his friends and associates to establish a World Unity Memorial to David Starr Jordan.

The purpose of this Memorial is to make possible the wider diffusion of Dr. Jordan's important statements on peace and international cooperation by magazine and pamphlet publication, in a form rendering them available to peace workers throughout the world, and to encourage the rise of the peace spirit among the new generation of college students.

It is the privilege of World Unity Magazine to serve as the organ of the David Starr Jordan Memorial, under the auspices of a Committee representing the scholarship of America, Europe and the East.

Friends of David Starr Jordan, and friends of world peace, may assist in the realization of the purpose of the Memorial by contributing toward the modest expenses involved. A contributing membership may be secured for five dollars; a student membership for two dollars; a life membership for ten dollars. Copies of all Memorial publications will be furnished members without charge.

In addition to the publication of David Starr Jordan's most important statements on the subject of peace, the Memorial will offer an annual prize for the best essay on world cooperation submitted by any college undergraduate.

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ROUND TABLE

The clamor and press of an age whose interest focusses so much upon the ever-changing external plane of public events, spread out before us like a Roman ampitheatre with its round of gladiators and chariot races, will not, it is confidently expected, divert attention from the essential aim of the *World Unity Memorial to David Starr Jordan,* announced in the present number of the magazine.

One who by courage and understanding made world peace an issue demanding more serious scientific consideration than it has ever received before; who forged an arsenal of new and effective weapons to resist the first onslaught of the emotional betrayal that alone makes war possible; one, finally, who made for himself a group of firm, life-long friendships linking the five continents of the world—such a one eminently deserves a Memorial enshrining not the human personality which has passed but the steadfast ideal which can never perish.

In addition to the activities proposed in the announcement, it is hoped that the *Jordan Memorial Committee* will be enabled to publish in book form the series, *Apostles of World Unity,* to which Dr. Jordan gave deep personal interest and contributed the weight of his influence.

The membership of the *Committee* will be increased to include thoroughly representative associates of Dr. Jordan in the Orient as well as in Europe and America.

* * *

In connection with John Herman Randall Jr.'s review of Norman Angell's latest work, it may be pointed out that the germ of this book was contained in an article on "How Shall the Plain Man Understand International Relations," which Sir Norman contrib-

uted to *World Unity* in June, 1929.

From the Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, for October, 1931, we quote the following reference to the magazine: "*A Useful Review for Teachers*—The World Unity Magazine . . . always contains informative articles on important international subjects written by distinguished specialists. It has published remarkable articles on education from the point of view of international cooperation."

As many readers have no doubt felt, the symposium on "Youth Demands Peace," edited and conducted by undergraduates of Amherst College, which concluded last month, is a significant sign of the times.

When undergraduate life is considered most lacking in idealism, it is because the chief emotional and mental emphasis must be directed upon the task of abandoning the particular form of idealism which happened to animate the previous generation. To understand this aspect of American college life, it is necessary to take the longer cycle of twenty or thirty years. The last wave of emotional idealism which conditioned the colleges was the evangelical movement developed in the early nineteenth century. Before any useful social program could get under way among students of the post-war period, it was necessary to outlive this inherently provincial motive. The "social service" ideal which crystallized in the later stages of the evangelical movement, expressed by men like Walter Lippmann, broke upon the hidden rocks of the European War. The tide now runs full again—but the outlook is international, and the aim is a civilized society, an ordered world.

Even though the new movement is yet sporadic and experimental, it has behind it the priceless advantage secured during the so-called "unidealistic" years, namely, the resolute breaking with the past. Whatever he does or does not, the youth of today will not go backward. He grows up thoroughly prepared to judge his elders by their fruits. The foundation for a new and greater student movement has been laid.

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